

CHAPTER X

THE EARTH, THE CLAN-GOD AND THE VILLAGE MOTHER

771 In the scanty literature dealing with Bastar, few things have received briefer attention than the religion of the Marias. Russell and Hiralal try in twenty-one pages (III, 97-118) to summarize the religion, magico-religious ideas and festivals of all the Gonds of the Central Provinces; their account, therefore, necessarily must be vague about the Marias, and on Bastar generally is in many respects misinformed; there is a tendency to prefer the picturesque to the unvarnished facts, as in the accounts of the alleged human sacrifices at Dantewara and of *Doctor Deo*. I have already stated that there has never been the slightest proof that the former ever took place, and pointed out that, if they did, they were semi-State Hindu ceremonies under the aegis of the Raja and the hereditary Rajput high-priest of his tutelary goddess Danteshwari. *Doctor Deo* is represented as a principal god of 'north Bastar'; actually the Mohammedan sub-assistant surgeon 'deified' as *Doctor Deo* died of cholera on the Keskal pass as he was returning to Raipur from Bastar, and his spirit has been attached by the surrounding Murias as a peon or servant to the shrine of Bhangaram at the head of the pass, where from generations past the final scene of disease-riddance or *bohovani* ceremonies among the Bhatras and Murias of Jagdalpur and Kondagaon tahsils and the adjacent Bastar Irredenta tracts of Jeypore had taken place; here the scapegoat from Jagdalpur is at last driven forth into the wilderness, and hundreds of litters or model *rasli* chariots have been deposited in front of Bhangaram with scape-doves and the sweepings of houses visited by epidemics. *Doctor Deo's* cult is a later and very minor accretion of this ancient cult.

776
618 Glasford in his Report correctly noted that, like the Jhoria and other surrounding Murias, the Marias of the Abujmar hills had in several villages Log-gods which they called *pes* (plural, *pesak*); but he did not realize that there was one of these *pesak* for each clan. This was pointed out on page 43 of the *Gazetteer*, though the clans are spoken of there as 'tribes' or by the Hindu term *gotra*; the suggestion there made that the system of each clan in its own area worshipping its own *pes* was even then breaking down, was at least premature, considering that it is still in full force in the Antagarh

77
618

parts of the Abujhmar hills, if, as will be seen, it is weaker on the Kutru side and has been modified among the Bison-horn Marias.

Even among the Gonds of the British districts of the Central Provinces bordering on the Nagpur District, the special godlings such as Pharsi Pen, Matiya, Ghangra, Chawar and Palo (see Russell and Hiralal, III, p. 99) seem to be only incidental and later additions to their religion.

There the clans are divided into groups or phratries according to the number of Little Gods or Chuddur-Penk kept as domestic godlings in a pot inside the house of the head of the family; and for each clan there is, or was, somewhere in the Province, a Holy Circle or *Pen-kāra* beneath a sacred *saja* tree, in the fork of which would be tied a grass bundle containing for the whole clan a set of godlings of the same number as the Chuddur Penk in the houses of members of the clan; this set is in reality the Big-God or Bhera Pen (a name commonly Hinduized as Bura Deo or even Mahadeo) of the clan. Just as the Chuddur Penk pot in the house not infrequently contains, besides the actual Chuddur Penk, a vermillioned shell or pebble or knot of wood representing the 'Chuddur (small) Mahadeo' or Narayan Deo or some other godling from whom the family may believe itself to have received some past help, so too the grass bundle at the Holy Circle may contain representations of Bara (big) Mahadeo, Narayan Deo, Pharsi Pen, Matiya, Ghangra, Palo, etc. But it is hopeless to expect the householder or the *Pen-gadwa* custodian of the Holy Circle to name each of the Chuddur Penk or their Bhera Pen counterparts; they have no individual names, but collectively are the clan-god. Apart from these Chuddur Penk *penates*, many houses in British districts have, in a recess in the wall or in the corner of the room, corresponding to the corner of the *lonu* where the Maria keeps the Pot of the Departed, a row of little plaster mounds representing the souls of the Departed, unless these have been taken to the *Pen-gadwa* priest at the Holy Circle and there re-united by him in the *gadwa* marriage ceremony to the clan.

Lucie-Smith and others record of the Marias of the Chanda District that they also have these Chuddur Penk, with phratries or groups of clans differentiated according to the number of the Penk. When, finding definitely no trace of them among the Hill or Bison-horn Marias of Bastar, I suggested to Dr. Wood, the present Bishop of Nagpur, who worked as a missionary for years in Chanda, that the information about the Chanda Marias was wrong, he very kindly had further enquiries made by the Rev. S. G. Patwardhan, an Indian Christian missionary with an intimate knowledge of

The Chuddur
Penk not
known in
Bastar

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

Bison Horn Maria

DEITIES

195

Chanda Gonds, who reported definitely that in the Chanda Maria villages of Bidri, Yemla, Burgi, Uddera and Kandodi the Marias had one three-god, six four-god, eight five-god, eight six-god and eight seven-god clans. The difficulty is, of course, that the word 'Maria', as we have seen, is not a Gondi word and may cover more than one ethnic group, as in Bastar; there certainly are differences between the plains and Hill Marias of Chanda, and the point needs to be cleared by verification in definite hill villages in the Chanda portion of the Abujhmar hills. My enquiries from some of these villagers who visited my camps in Bastar along with Bastar relatives never produced any Chanda Maria who admitted belonging to a god-group or having Chuddur Penk in his house. Admittedly even in Nagpur District, Gonds are reluctant to show their Chuddur Penk, and Koitor everywhere have to be handled delicately before they will talk of the other domestic cult, that of the Departed. Nevertheless, I have known many Marias intimately, and have had them talking freely on these questions; and I have seen the contents of every pot, gourd, packet or other receptacle in many a Hill and Bison-horn Maria house: but I never found any domestic godling, and they have always denied having them, or god-groups founded on them. So likewise did adjacent Jhoria and Gotal Murias, though some of them knew of Gonds who had immigrated into Bastar from the Central Provinces with domestic godlings and god-groups. The only Bastar Gonds of whom it has ever been reported that they have domestic gods in addition to the clan-god are the 'Telugu Gonds' towards Konta (by which is probably meant the Dorla), stated on page 42 of the *Gazetteer* to have for each family a separate god represented by a few pieces of *tendu* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) wood; but the Dorla villages that I visited near Jaggergonda had no such family gods.

It may, therefore, be taken as certain that neither Hill nor Bison-horn Marias of Bastar have the cult of the Chuddur Penk, and that their clan-groups are not founded on them. If they are to be fitted into the traditional scheme of god-groups by persons who dislike exceptions to a rule apparently so universal among other Gonds, they must come in as the missing one-god group!

Much has been said in the preceding chapters, particularly the chapter on agriculture, on the cults of Bhum (the earth), the Clan-god and the Village Mother. In some sense, all three are the same, all Marias, Hill and Bison-horn, being the children of Bhum. They will tell you sometimes that the Pen clan-god and the Village Mother are also Bhum; and in some places the cairn or table-stone below the sacred *saja* tree does duty

General
nature of
Bastar Maria
cult of Earth,
Clan-god and
Village Mother

776

618

771

DEITIES

197

in the clan; often the same man is both religious headman and secular headman (*gaita*, *poda*), and these functions were probably always combined before the growing interference of the State with village life and the excessive demands for forced labour and supplies began to make the secular headmanship a burden to be avoided by the true leader of the village and put on to the village simpleton.

The Village Mother is always dealt with in Hill and Bison-horn villages through the *kasyeq-gaita* and the *perma* respectively; but she neither enters into the body of a medium nor can be consulted through one like the clan-god. Though it be through her that the *kasyeq-gaita*'s eggs are added or other omens of ill or indications that the village should shift are sent, yet to make plain her will the medium of the clan-god, that is the clan-priest (the *waddai* or *modul-waddai*), is sent for, and through his mouth the clan-god expounds the will of the Unseen Powers. It is tempting to regard her as the personification of the female and the clan-god as that of the male element in the reproductive powers of the Earth or Bhumi; needless to say, there are no Maria theologians to worry themselves over such distinctions, and it is not a clear-cut one, since some clans have a clan-goddess, not a god; e.g. Oghal Muttai, goddess of the Dhurwa clan, and Gumtuli, goddess of the Padali clan of Padalibhum at Adnar. This conception, nevertheless, does to a considerable extent clarify the fundamental relation between the Earth, the clan-god and the Village Mother. The other point to be remembered is that the clan-god is the Earth in its dealings with the clan, and the Mother the Earth in its dealings with the village. No woman or girl may take part in the festivals, public sacrificial meals, worship and intercession of either clan-god or Village Mother.

The Earth, then, as clan-god, is the god of nourishment and reproduction, and of life itself; the Marias are his children, fed by him. For them to raise their sustenance he divided up the land among the clans, and the clan-area among the villages, and in each clan and village, he appointed priests or headmen who alone might communicate with him, and to whose first ancestor he revealed the clan and village boundaries, which knowledge has been handed down from father to son. The Maria leaves his *poda* slope for another after two or three years because the god is suffering from having too much nourishment extracted from that slope, but he will return to it when the god has recovered from his exhaustion. Children are but one of the god's crops.

In form, we have seen, the clan-god of Marias of both kinds and of Murias, is a framework of three parallel *saja* logs held together by cross-pieces of bamboo or *saja*, to which they are lashed by cords of *siari* creeper or twisted

The Clan-god

622

791

776

791

771

618

776

618

778

778 things of the outer rind of bamboos. Where *saja* trees are scarce, he may be made entirely of bamboos, but will be lodged in a hut under a *saja* tree. The junctions of the logs and the cross-pieces are adorned with bunches of peacock and jungle-cock feathers, and the ends of the logs with rupees or spirals of peacock quill or bands of brass and silver. At the first-fruits ceremonies his shed [782] is adorned with plaited fringes of the stalks and ears of the new grains, or bunches of bean and pulse pods; and he is brought forth to have the blood of the sacrificed victims sprinkled upon him.

Halbas, Telangas and Murias have precisely similar gods, if the logs composing them are more elaborately adorned and sometimes carved. Their generic name in Bastar is Anga Deo or Pat Deo, 'Log-God'. The central log is the essential part, for the other two logs are added primarily to enable the god to be borne on the shoulders of four men when he goes forth to a festival or a witch hunt. The Jhoria log-god at Narainpur had a special nose for witches, and the late Raja Bhairam Deo, great-grandfather of the present Maharaja, installed a copy of it in the palace at Jagdalpur; for witch hunts the god used to be brought in from Narainpur while the palace copy was sent to Narainpur during his absence. I found that the palace copy was in 1927 being used generally without reference to the Narainpur prototype for detecting witchcraft around Jagdalpur, a fee of Rs. 5 being paid into the State Treasury to the credit of the Temple Court of Wards whenever surrounding Murias requisitioned its services.

773 As has been observed on page 51, there is a tradition among the Hill Marias (of Chhota Dongar, Mangnar and Barsur Mar 618 *parganas*) that the great log-god Pat Raja of the Jate clan of Mohnar in Mangnar *pargana* with the help of his wife's brother, Use Modia, the log-god of the Lekami clan of the Bison-horn village of Ghotpal, near Barsur, divided up both Hill and Bison-horn Marias into clans, in the old days when there was regular inter-marriage between the Hill and Bison-horn Marias. The legend does not appear to be known to the latter, who have only vague traditions of having at some remote date descended to their present lands from the Abujhmar hills, where occasionally they say that their clan-god still resides.

776 It is certain that most of the Hill Maria clan-gods have relation- 618 ship claimed for them with Pat Raja of Mohnar. The Usendi clan of Orcha has his younger brother Wikir Hunga at Japgunda, the Deda clan of Kurmer have another younger brother, Nule Harma, the Dhurwa clan of Gomagal have his sister Oghal Mutta'i, the Hill Maria Marvi clan of Toqtoli in Mangnar *pargana* have his sister's son Mara-Nagh, while the Gume clan of the Barsur Mar

DEITIES

199

paragana not only acquired a yet younger brother of Pat Raja, Verma Mo'itto Pen, as their clan-god, but also a family of Pat Raja's clan, the Jaterom,¹ as hereditary clan-priests because, the Jaterom being *ahomama*² (wife-clan) to the Gumelot, the new god was related to them as *mama* or maternal uncle and had to have a priest or *waddai* of his own clan or one *dadabhai*³ (brother-clan) to it. They say in fact that all clan-gods are mutually related, if they are sometimes very hazy as to the actual relationship; and they add that the gods, being Koitor, must have a full set of brother-clans and wife-clans like any other Koitor. Memories are, however, so poor that it is often difficult to ascertain the name of a man's dead father and quite impossible to ascertain the name of his grandfather and the clan and village of his grandmother, if, indeed, even of his mother; and it would be altogether out of the question to disentangle the descents and relationships of the clans by deduction from the traditional kinship of the clan-gods to Pat Raja and each other.

That old clans split up into new clans is clear, especially among the Hill Marias, from the fact that several of the larger clans have attached to them smaller clans which have no separate clan-god of their own, but attend the celebrations of the god of the large and presumably parent clan; certain other clans, though they have new clan-gods of their own, acknowledge their origin from another clan by taking the permission of the god of that clan before holding their own clan festivals. The way in which these clans split up is a matter belonging rather to the chapter in Part V, where the clan and phratry organization is dealt with as a matter of social organization, than to this chapter on religion. Here the point is that new clans are breaking off, and that their separation from the parent clan is signalized by the birth of a son or daughter (a son in the cases that I have seen) to the god of the parent clan. Thus Tumirgunda, in the plains between Handawada, still a true Hill Maria village, and the river Indrawati, near Barsur, belongs to the Tamo clan, and is the seat of their god Hurra Gunda Mo'itto³ Pen. The *modul-waddai* of this clan-god was in 1930 still the *modul-waddai* of neighbouring villages of the Atami clan; and of the Tamo and Atami villages in his 'see' some were, like Tumirgunda itself, still mainly Hill Maria in culture, dancing in Hill Maria style, and some had changed to Bison-horn culture and dancing, and were recognized as Bison-horn

776
618 ●

[153]

¹ Jäterom is the plural of Jäte; the clan is distinct from the Jäta, plural Jätälör, and the Jäti clan of Jätwara *paragana*.

² Clans are *ahomama* to clans with which they may intermarry, but *dadabhai* to all others.

³ 'Mo'itto' ('old man') or 'matta's' ('old woman') is always added to the clan-god's name.

776
618

villages by the headman of the Bison-horn Pharaspal *pargana*. The god had long ago produced a son worshipped as clan-god in the Atami village of Chudala Karka, now a Bison-horn village. But the son's dependence on the parent was shown by the practice of the Tumirgunda clan-priest every third year making a new network of peacock's quills for encasing the front cross-piece of the Chudala Karka son. The *modul-waddai* shaves his beard only when he has to start to make a new quill network, and lets it grow after that till it has again to be replaced three years later. Chudala Karka pays Tumirgunda for this network a pig, a *khandi* of 164 lb. of husked rice and a pot of *mahua* spirit. In the *pen-rasar* hut of the god at Tumirgunda was yet another son, already named Hunga Gunda Mo'itto Pen, who was being made for another Atami village in the 'see', and was to be taken to it as soon as he was a year old; he then consisted only of one bamboo pole tipped with a silver cone and adorned with bunches of peacock feathers. Here perhaps the need for separation was arising because the Atami villages were adopting or had adopted Bison-horn ways, while the village for which the new god was being 'born' was some way from Chudala Karka, and effectively separated from it by the Indrawati river. So at Kurmer at the end of 1929 Nule Harma, god of the Deda clan, was producing a 'son' for some distant villages of the clan; and we have already seen how the Gume clan of the Barsur Mar *pargana* acquired from the Jaterom of Mohnar not only a younger brother of their god, but a Jate family to be his clan-priest.

The *Gazetteer* has been quoted as suggesting that the system of separate areas and separate gods for each clan was breaking down. Among the Hill Marias the remark is justified to the following extent only. Many of the old villages of the Bhairamgarh Mar and Kutru Mar *parganas* of the Kutru zamindari have disappeared, including indeed the two which Glasford gave as the seats of the chief Hill Maria clan-gods of his time. Many clans have disappeared or are reduced to one or two households. There are various causes; maladministration leading to exodus to the tahsils of the plains or the Chanda district, the great 1918 influenza epidemic, and the ravages of yaws. The total disappearance of clans is evidenced by the presence in villages now settled by other clans of *kotohal* rows of menhirs erected for the Departed or forgotten clans, quite distinct from those erected by the present clan, which can give no information at all about its predecessors. Clans greatly diminished in numbers soon find that they cannot economically manage to keep even one village going on their traditional clan-area, much less keep effective control and user of all the alternative *penda* slopes of the area. The dregs, therefore, of three or four clans may settle

[764]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

Bison Horn Maria

DEITIES

201

together in a village in the area of the largest *dreg*, and abandon claim to the other clan-areas; for example, Aipur in Kutru Mar had in 1937, one Hoyami, one Telam, one Micha and two Bardi clan houses, while Malahanar had four Hoyami, two Pungati and one Diwa. Both were originally Hoyami clan villages; the clan has also still the villages of Komu and Kalhaza in Bhairamgarh Mar; but has since the census deserted Malahanar, as the headman and all but one Hoyami householder died suddenly, and the remaining Hoyami shifted to Kalhaza. In adjacent parts of the Chhota Dongar Mar *pargana* there are big clans like the Usendi and the Jugho already needing fresh lands, and the obvious fields for expansion are the empty lands of dwindling or extinct clans in Kutru Mar and Bhairamgarh Mar. Often big clans have just thrown off parties of squatters who have founded fresh villages in such places; the large Gume clan of Barsur Mar has, for example, long occupied Dunga, Goti and Kunjewada in Bhairamgarh Mar. Where there is still a remnant of a clan strong enough to raise some opposition to squatters from other clans coming in to their areas, but not to retain effective cultivating occupation, the *kasyeq-gaita* of the chief village (the clan being always too small to have retained an area big enough to become a *pargana*, and seldom having even a clan-god in its days of adversity) has sold some of the clan land for a few rupees to another clan; thus comparatively recently the Ark clan, now of Korowaya village only, sold the lands of their deserted village of Itulnar for Rs. 30 to the overflowing Jugho clan of the adjacent Chhota Dongar Mar village of Adeq and other large villages. When the sale took place, the *kasyeq-gaita* of the Arkalar showed the *kasyeq-gaita* of the Jughalor the traditional village sites, and the cairns marking former shrines of the Village Mother, and extracted a sworn promise of reverence for her. The Arkalar themselves could not have long been in occupation, as they said that the *hotokai* menhirs at Itulnar had not been erected by them but by some other forgotten clan which had died out before their occupation of the village.

Not only have hardly any of these dying clans clan-gods and clan-priests, but also the colonizers, having left their hereditary clan-area, consider themselves outside their clan-god's jurisdiction, and 'under no need' therefore to attend his Koqsar or to get his permission to hold festivals before the Village Mothers of their new villages. So the Gumel of Dunga, Goti and Kunjewada are seen no more at the Gume Koqsar of Verma Mo'itto Pen at To'inar in Barsur Mar, and the Jughalor settlers of Itulnar do not join their fellow Jughalor of Adeq and other villages of Chhota Dongar Mar at the Koqsar of the Usendi and allied clans' god Wikir Hunga at

618
776

[425]

618

776

Orcha. Ultimately the new colonies may spread, and they may feel the need of clan-gods and petition the clan-priests of the areas from which they migrated to give them a son of the old clan-god; but meanwhile the majority of them get on quite well without him and his clan-gatherings, and find the Village Mother and village ceremonies quite enough for their needs. If in time they ask for a clan-god of their own, they are likely to get some additional name to distinguish them from the main section of their clan, and ultimately all mention of the original clan name will be omitted.

It was remarked on page 194 that for each clan of the Gonds of the British India districts bordering on Nagpur there is or was a *Pen-kara* or Holy Circle under a *saja* tree somewhere in the province. If he has not become detribalized, every Gond should visit this once a year with offerings, or at least should pay sacrificial fines there on the birth of a child, on being released from handcuffs, on readmission to the community after some social

Special
features of the
Clan-god
among the
Bison-horn
Marias

lapse, and so on; and there ultimately his soul should be brought after death, to be united to the clan Departed. The villages are there no longer the *dhums* of particular clans, and many clans and god-groups may be represented in one village. Members of the clans are scattered far and wide over the province, and in one Nagpur Gond village you may find representatives of clans with the *Pen-kara* of their gods at places so far apart as Berar, Chhindwara, Lanji or Chanda. Many have settled far from their *Pen-kara* for so many generations that the fatigue of the long journey has been avoided more and more by each new generation till in the end it has been given up, and many of the present time cannot even say where it is.

776

618

615

To this kind of attitude some of the Bison-horn Marias are beginning to come. There are many clan-areas¹ in Bijapur and Dantewara tahsils and in Kutru zamindari on both sides of the river Indrawati which, as indicated in the ethnic map on page 40, are peopled by clans once purely Hill Maria in language and culture, but now modified in both by contact either with Bison-horn Maria

¹ Examples are Chikatraj Pen of Kutru, the god of the Gota clan of Kutru, Borje, Bhirabhatti, Pillur, Sappimarka, Kakler, Gattapalli, Mendri, Udra villages; Kuwo-Gundo Pen, god of the Majje and Wadde clans of Bodametta, Kodepalli, Majje-Mendri, Kungler, Madhepar, Dudepalli, and Rengawaya in Kutru zamindari and of Kounde (where the god is kept and the clan-priest lives) and other villages in Chanda District; Wachami Mo'itto Pen, of Markanar in Kutru zamindari, god of the Wachami clan of Markanar, Irkapal, Karkelli, Kumharmeta and Bodeli in Kutru Zamindari and some adjacent Wachami clan villages in Ahiri zamindari; Wange Muri Pen, of Dhanora in Bijapur tahsil, god of the Kuriyami clan of several villages around Dhanora and Thoinar and Pharsagarh sub-zamindaris of Kutru.

DEITIES

203

or with Doria neighbours. The clearest sign these retain of their Hill Maria origin is the retention of separate clan-areas, clan-gods and *wodal-waddai* clan-priests for each large clan (*peri* or *katta*) or pair or trio of closely related clans, as distinct from the Bison-horn Maria institution of one *pen* or clan-god for each of the five groups of clans or phratries (*terv* or *hutmam*) and every clan (*katta*) included in it, without any fixed phratry-area. On the other hand, each village in the true Bison-horn tracts is said to be the *dhum* of the clan (*katta*) of the *perma* who originally founded it, and, as it is the *dhum* of his clan, he alone can officiate for the village at the ceremonies and sacrifices before the Village Mother, the Dongar Deo, Kodo Deo, Bhu-deo and Bhu-Devi, and the other forms under which the Earth is worshipped at the different agricultural ceremonies.

The Bison-horn country is extensive and, compared to the Hill Maria country, well populated. The villages forming the *dhum* of even individual *katta* clans may be miles apart, while a village that is the *dhum* of a clan in phratry A may be surrounded by villages that are the *dhum* of clans in phratries B, C, D and E for miles before there is another village of a clan of phratry A. Further, though a village may be the *dhum* of the *perma*'s clan, he may easily have only a few other householders of his clan in the village, but several of other kindred and affine clans. At Arampur, most members of the big and small Marvi, the Hemla and the Oyami clans, all of which are included in the Marvi phratry, did not know the name of the clan-god of their phratry, but suggested vaguely that his *pen-rasur* might be in the Abujhmar hills or in Padar-raj, their name for the plateau around Jagdalpur. Some knew that the god's name was Handa Kosa Pen, and a few said that his *pen-rasur* was at Killepal, nearly sixty miles away, where the great western road from Jagdalpur to Bhopalpatnam approaches the passes descending to the Dantewara valley. At Killepal, however, I had not been shown Handa Kosa Pen; the village is the *dhum* of the Kuhrami clan, which gives its name to the Kuhrami phratry, and the clan members stated that they had no *pen-rasur* of their clan at Killepal, but that Hermrarj Pen, their god, was, they had heard, in some village near Orcha in the Abujhmar hills. It was often agreed that a Maria should visit his Pen or clan-god every year in Afghan or Pand month (November-December) and offer a pig or a cock to the god at this annual *pen-jatra* or festival of the *pen*. At Arampur a few of the older men said that they had long ago visited the Marvi clan-god Handa Kosa Pen at Killepal in their youth, but in recent years no one seemed to have been near. It was agreed that certain social offences could only be expiated by a visit and penal offering to the clan-god.

114 she came. The second circumstance was the fact that, to some extent, I could spur their memories from the record of a 1916 Sessions case in which Moda and two other members of the family had been sentenced to imprisonment for life for the murder of a fourth member, Usendi Bhosa. The family was, moreover, one of considerable social importance. It has the hereditary right of providing the secular headman of both the village of Orcha and the large Chhota Dongar *pargana*, while the Usendi clan is one of the strongest in the Abujhmar hills, and the Kqsar festivals of its god Wikir Hunga attract people from far and wide. In most families it is impossible to get beyond the paternal grandfather, if indeed beyond the father and mother; but though the names are forgotten, obligations are not; and many, if not all, Marias remember the clans and families with which they have cross-cousin marriage alliances. Of 105 Hill Maria marriages investigated, fifty-seven [622] were marriages between cross-cousins; it is not so easy to check the remaining 46 per cent. in which the marriage marked the start of new affinities, at least as between the two contracting families, if not as between the clans.

On the other hand, a man touring as the administrative head of the State has the advantage of always having many Marias from different clans and villages assembling at his camps, and so of ascertaining their matrimonial alliances and testing practically any clan lists which he may have made or obtained elsewhere. But here a further difficulty crops up. Communications among the Hill Marias are very bad, and it by no means follows that an Usendi living, let us say, on the southern edge of the Chhota Dongar *pargana* has the same views on the clans from which it is permissible to seek a bride as an Usendi in the Chanda part of the Abujhmar hills or in the northernmost Maria *pargana* of the Antagarh tahsil. There is always a tendency to limit clan jurisdiction to the administrative division; though investigation will reveal much inter-marriage between one *pargana* and the next, even though one should be in one tahsil and the other in another, in a zamindari or even in British territory, yet the investigator will be assured that 'we do not take wives from that clan or village because it is not in our *pargana*' or 'our raj'; and it has already been seen that when members of a clan migrate from their clan-area to colonize land deserted by other clans outside the *pargana* they no longer consider themselves under any obligation to attend their original clan-god's festivals.

000 This much has been said by way of introduction, and of apology if, as I fear, this chapter is the least satisfactory and the least final in its conclusions.

PHRATRIES AND CLANS

235

The only writers who seem to have touched on the social organisation of the Bastar Marias before are Russell and Hiralal,

Russell and Hiralal, who said (III, pp. 64-6):—²

The Gond rules of exogamy appear to preserve traces of the system found in Australia, by which the whole tribe is split into two or four main divisions, and every man in one or two of them must marry a woman in the other one or two.

Among the Gonds, however, the subdivision into small exogamous sects has been also carried out, and the class system, if the surmise that it once existed be correct, remains only in the form of a survival, prohibiting marriage between agnates, like an ordinary sept. In one part of Bastar all the septs of the Maria Gonds are divided into two great classes. There are ninety septs in A Class and sixty-nine in B Class, though the list may be incomplete. All the septs in A Class say that they are Bhaiband or Dadabhai to each other, that is in the relation of brothers, or cousins being the sons of brothers. No man of Class A can marry a woman of any sept in Class A. The septs of Class A stand in the relation of Mamabhai or Akomama to those of Class B. Mamabhai means a maternal uncle's son, and Akomama apparently signifies having the same maternal grandfather. Any man of a sept in Class A can marry any woman of a sept in Class B. It will thus be seen that the smaller septs seem to serve no purpose for regulating marriage, and are no more than family names. The tribe might just as well be divided into two great exogamous clans only. Marriage is prohibited between persons related only through males; but according to the exogamous arrangement there is no other prohibition, and a man could marry any maternal relative. Separate rules, however, prohibit his marriage with certain female relatives, and these will be given subsequently (ibid., p. 73). It is possible that the small septs may serve some purpose which has not been elicited, though the inquiry made by Rai Bahadur Panda Baijnath³ was most careful and painstaking.

In another part of Bastar there were found to be five classes, and each class had a small number of septs in it. The people who supplied this information could not give the names of many septs. Thus Class A had six septs,⁴ Class B five, Classes C and D one each, Class E four, and Class F two. A man could not marry a woman of any sept belonging to his own class.

The Maria Gonds of Bastar have a few large exogamous septs or clans named in Hindi after animals, and each of these clans contains several subsepts with Gondi names. Thus the *Bakarasans* or Goat race contains the Garde, Kunjami, Karvami and Vadde septs. The *Kachimsans* or Tortoise race has the Netami, Kawachi, Usendi and Tekami septs. The *Nagnans* or Cobra race includes the Maravi, Potari, Karanga, Nurethi, Dhurwa and others. Other exogamous races are the Sodi (or tiger), Behaima (buffalo), Netam (dog in Gondi), Chamchidai (bat) and one or two more. In this case the exogamous clans with Hindi names would appear to be a late division, and have perhaps been adopted because the meaning of the old Gondi names had been forgotten, or the septs were too numerous to be remembered.

As will be seen in this chapter, the part of Bastar where five 'classes' were found was presumably the Bison-horn country and its cultural extension, the Doria country, where there are definitely five phratries each containing varying numbers of clans. The tract in which, according to Rai Bahadur Panda Baijnath's enquiry, the

² Diwan of Bastar for many years.

³ Six classes, A to F, are given, though the text speaks of five, the actual number among both Bison-horn Marias and Dorias. But so few 'septs' are mentioned, nineteen as compared to the fifty in my list of phratries, that the enquiry must have been incomplete.

⁴ [See CAT 116, p. 424. — *Analysis*]

114 Marias were divided into two moieties containing ninety and
 618 sixty-nine 'septs' (for which this book uses the term 'clans') can
 only have been the country of the Hill Marias.

Unfortunately the records of the Rai Bahadur's enquiry are not forthcoming. But he appears never to have entered the

Abujhmar hills, and his enquiries were probably based on questions put to Hill Marias at camps to which they came to see him in the plains. The list of hill clans in the appendix shows only fifty clans.

My enquiries so far as possible covered even those Hill Maria *parganas* which I did not visit, and though my list is, no doubt, incomplete, the great difference between his 159 and my 50 clans must mean that he included many areas which are not Hill Maria areas, probably all Kutru zamindari, and all Antagarh tahsil.

618 As we have seen, the clans are not merely little more than surnames; quite apart from questions of exogamy, they are, in the Abujhmar hills, practically political units, each, at least of the flourishing clans, with its own clan-area; and each clan had a *panchayat* system for dealing with everyday offences. Clans may feel themselves closer to some clans in kindred or affinity, as the case may be, than to others; but on the whole it is the social solidarity of the clan and its members, its '*dhumdal*' as the Marias say, that keeps the Hill Marias together. Had it not been for the strong feeling of the clan for its own *dhum* (earth) the mistaken and oppressive land revenue system in vogue till recently and the gross mismanagement of at least the Bastar zamindaris would have resulted in wholesale migration to Chanda District. As it was, many went, but generally a nucleus of the clans remained, and now that things are better in Bastar many of the emigrants are returning.

618 I started my enquiries strongly influenced by the passage
 616 quoted from Russell and Hiralal, and expecting that the hill clans would fall naturally into two moieties. So far long they did. I began with the great Usendi clan of Orchā and the Chhota Dongar hill *pargana*. So far as that *pargana* is concerned, the clans in it do fall into two moieties, the Usendi clan having six clans related to it as *dadabhai* (brother-clan) and fourteen as *ahomama* (wife-clan); not only did each of the clans concerned agree that it stood in the relation shown to the Usendi clan, but their statements were confirmed by the actual marriages examined. But the first major difficulty arose in the adjacent Barsur Mar and Mangnar *pargana*. There is no doubt about the Usendi freely intermarrying with the important Gume clan which practically monopolizes Barsur Mar; the pedigree in the appendix, for example, shows four such marriages

PHRATRIES AND CLANS

237

in cross-cousin relation. It is equally certain that the great Jugho clan of Adeq and other Chhota Dongar villages as well as of Itulnar in Bhairamgarh Mar regularly intermarries with and is *ahomama* to the Usendi clan. If there were two moieties, all clans from which an Usendi could take a wife would have to be in the moiety other than that containing the Usendi clan; that is to say the Gumelor and the Jughalor would have to be in the same moiety and so would be *dadabhai* to each other and unable to intermarry. But actually they are *ahomama* to each other and do intermarry quite often. Take again the important Jate clan of Mornar in Mangnar *pargana*, and its closely connected *dadabhai* clans the Tokalor and Hukur of Erpanar. They are *dadabhai* to the Usendi. On the two-moiety theory, therefore, they would be in the same moiety as the Usendi clan, and so would be any clan from which the Gumelor, with whom the Usendi, Jaterom, Tokalor and Hukur intermarry, might take a wife. The Gumelor often take wives from the Marvi clan of Tokhtoli and three other villages in Mangnar *pargana*. The Jaterom, Tokalor and Hukur should, therefore, be in the same moiety as that clan and debarred from taking wives from it; actually they consider themselves 'close *ahomama*' relatives of the Marvi clan, and intermarriage is frequent. As, therefore, on the two-moiety theory Marvis must be in the opposite moiety to the Gumelor, they ought to be in the same moiety as the Usendi clan with whom the Gumelor intermarry; but, e.g., Marvi Bitai, the headman of Tokhtoli, married his cross-cousin Usendi Puse of Juwara, continuing a chain of such marriages between the two families. The Jaterom-Tokalor-Hukur group of clans takes wives from Marvis and Gumelor, the Marvis from the Gumelor and the Jaterom-Tokalor-Hukur group, and the Gumelor from the Jaterom-Tokalor-Hukur group and the Marvis. Again, the Dhurwa clan is a close *dadabhai* of the Jughalor, and in practice (vide the pedigree) intermarries with the Usendi. It also intermarries with the Gumelor, who, as we have seen, themselves intermarry with the Usendi. This is another triangular example that cannot be fitted into the two-sided moiety theory. Examples can be found also in the north of the hills. The Farsal, Bardal and Gotal clans are very definitely *dadabhai* both to themselves and to the neighbouring Muria clans the Karangalor and Dughalor; the three of them marry mostly Jughalor girls, but also Usendi and Wadder girls, and the Usendi of the Kiringal and Dugal *pargana* are *ahomama* to the Karangalor and Dughalor. On the two-moiety theory, therefore, the Usendi and Jughalor ought to be in the same moiety and, therefore, would not be allowed to intermarry. But actually they do, very frequently.

618
616

[616]
615
618

The theory of two moieties therefore completely breaks down, and it is obvious that we are confronted by something approaching phratries. The Bison-horn Marias call their groups *kutmam* or *tarr* and their clans *katta*; but the Hill Marias know neither of the two former words, and, though some towards the south of the hills understand *katta*, they use the word *parr* that is in vogue for this purpose among all the Central Provinces Gonds. It is possible that they have some word for groups of clans, but I was unsuccessful in trying to get at it. They have some conception, however, of groups. The Usendi, Wadder, Katlami and Jaterom consider themselves brothers; Wikir Hunga, the god of the Usendis and Wadder, is a younger brother of Pat Raja, god of the Jaterom, and Pandu Hunga, god of the Katlamis, is the next brother after Wikir Hunga and has a Jate *waddai*; the Deda clan of Kurmer may also belong to the group, as its god Nule Harma is the youngest brother of Pat Raja. To the group would also belong the smaller clans of the Chhota Dongar *pargana* that are *dadabhai* to the Usendi, the Korami, Dodi, Deda and Parsal. Similarly the Jugho (*alias* Karme) clan says that the Dhurwa clan is its elder and the Dolwar clan its younger brother; their marriages are all consistent with membership of the same group, which possibly also includes the other Chhota Dongar clans of the list not mentioned above as *dadabhai* to the Usendi group, and the Yete clan of Kutru; all these are definitely *dadabhai* to the Jughalor. The Bardal, Farsal, Gotai, Nughoti, Tapa and Hichami clans of the north appear to be a group, to which would be added the Dughalor and Karangalor had they not become Murias and decided to discontinue the give and take of daughters in marriage with the Hill Marias. Of the grouping of the Kutru clans it is difficult to speak; but judging from marriages the Parilo, Jata, Kohka and Ark clans are a group of *dadabhai*, and *ahomama* to another group consisting of the Boter, Wachami, Mohanda, Oyami, Mohke, and Pungati. The former group appears to be *dadabhai* to the Usendi group, and to be differentiated from it only by the fact that its members live in the Kutru zamindari, while the Usendi group is practically confined to the Antagarh tahsil. In Mangnar there is definitely a Jaterom-Tokalor-Hukur group, while the Marvi may belong to the same group as the Marvi phratry of the Bison-horn Marias and may include the small Alami and Nonde clans of Mangnar. The Gumel of Barsur Mar seem to be in a group of their own so far as most of the Hill clans are concerned. The chief clans ungrouped in this tentative grouping are the Padal of Padalibhum and the Jati of Jatwara; both possibly come into the great Jughalor group.

PHRATRIES AND CLANS

239

It should be clear from what has been said that these groups or phratries are not proved, but are a hypothesis that does explain observed facts, which cannot possibly be squared with the theory of two moieties. That theory is the less likely when it is remembered that amongst all the Gonds of the Central Provinces it is usual to find phratries, whether the simple totem-phratries of the Bison-horn Marias of Bastar or the three-god, four-god, five-god, six-god and seven-god phratries of the Chanda, Nagpur and Chhindwara districts. Russell and Hiralal have already been quoted as saying that there are similar totem phratries among the Murias. But one must not necessarily expect to find the same number (five) of phratries among the Hill Marias; they perhaps are not conscious of having any phratries at all, and the groups are only the result of proximity and convenience, tempered by the accidents of the political geography of the hill country. There are no signs at all of totems for these suppositious groups, like those shown in the list of Bison-horn clans, and existing among the Murias; the Usendi will not eat or keep goats, and the Parilo, though they tend goats for Telis, will not eat them or drink their milk. The Kohkalar will not touch or fell the marking-nut tree (*kohka-marra*; *Semecarpus anacardium*) or its fruits. The Yete are called after the crab (*yete*), but they eat crabs. The Neghal are called after the panther (*neghal*), but the reason seems to be that when they founded their village a panther was killed at the entrance to it, the panther now commemorated by three stones (see page 134). The Alami have the *alam* or chameleon as totem, and salaam gravely any chameleon they may meet. But the reverence paid by the Jaterom to the brooms of *jate* grass used to sweep their god's shrine and by the Hukur to the ladle that they use to dole out the sacrificial rice cooked at the same shrine are acts akin to the annual worship paid by all Hindu artisans to the tools of their craft. The other things mentioned in the totem column in the list of hill clans in the appendix are not totems, but explanations of the origins of the names of the clans concerned. It is thus clear that traces of totemism among the Hill Marias are very slight, and affect individual clans, not groups. There is no connexion at all between totemism and the taboos, nor does it figure in the cult of the clan-god.

It was suggested on page 205 that the five major clans from which the five Bison-horn phratries take their names might have originated from the migration of strong bodies of each of those clans from the Abujhmar hills, in the same way that even now bodies of clans like the Jughalor and the Gumelur are beginning to occupy deserted lands of forgotten or dwindling clans in Bhairamgarh Mar, and that each of these five major clans split up into smaller clans,

615
618

611 each new clan, however, retaining to some extent its membership
618 of the original clan, the name of which became the generic name for it and its daughter-clans. The process can be seen at work in the hills; the Tokalor and Hukur have clearly split off from the Jaterom, while the Usendi group must at some time have split away from the Jaterom, as their clan-gods are the younger brothers of the Jaterom god Pat Raja, and the Katlami god Pandu Hunga, the eldest of these younger brothers, is served by a Jate *wadai* (clan-priest). It does look as though there may have been an original two-moiety system, which has expanded into a group system merely because as colonization proceeded strict adherence to the rule of taking a wife from the other moiety proved impossible owing to distances and bad communications. For the emigrant clans who colonized the Bison-horn country, which could support a far larger population than the hills, it would be particularly necessary to allow a wider range of choice than possible under two-moiety exogamy. This is secured if a man in phratry A can take a wife from phratry B, C, D or E.

So we have the phratry and clan organization of the Bison-horn Marias. The list in Appendix II shows nine clans in the Marvi phratry, ten in the Kuhrami, three in the Sodi, twenty-one in the Markami and eight in the Kawasi, fifty-one altogether, as compared with the nineteen of Russell and Hiralal. The list mentions six other clans whose phratry I did not ascertain. Like the Muria phratries mentioned by Russell and Hiralal, these phratries are often described as the *bans*, a Hindi word for race, of their totems; the Marvi phratry in most of the Bison-horn country is the *Bakrabans* or Goat race, and in Sukma and the south the *Nagwans* or Cobra race; the Kuhrami phratry is the *Kadiaribans* or Cuckoo race; the Sodi phratry is the *Baghbans* or Tiger race; and both the Markami and the Kawasi phratries are *Kachhibans* or Tortoise races. Almost exactly the same phratries with the same subordinate clans are found among the Dorla Koiror of the south; but they have other names for the phratries, called after the *yelopi* or *velpi* god of the phratry, only one of whom, Perambhoi, after whom the phratry corresponding to the Bison-horn Kuhrami or Cuckoo race is called, is even known to the Bison-horn Marias.

There are certain peculiarities. Although clans belong to a phratry with a certain totem, they sometimes have either no totem or a totem of their own, which may be the same as the totem of one of the other phratries, or one peculiar to itself. The Hemla clan of the Marvi or Goat phratry has the tortoise as totem; the Ralmu clan of the Markami Tortoise race has the goat as totem; and the

PHRATRIES AND CLANS

241

615 Poriami clan of the Kuhrami or Cuckoo phratry has the buffalo,
618 which has supplanted the tiger as the totem of the Sodi or Tiger phratry, since tigers so far forgot themselves as to kill and eat some men of the phratry. In the Cuckoo phratry two clans, the Kartami and the Kuhrami (which gives its name to the phratry), have the *Aeret* or hornbill as totem, while the Kunjami clan has the *kunje* or screech-owl. In all these cases it is the clan totem that matters, not the phratry totem; the Hemla clan will kill goat or cobra, the Kartami and Kuhrami the cuckoo, and the Kalmu the goat. Some clans have no totem of their own, but have no scruples about touching, killing or eating the totem of their phratry; examples are the Tamo clan in the Goat phratry, the Oika clan in the Tiger or Buffalo phratry, and the Biryia or Big Markami, the Gonche, the Miriyami, the Nupo and the Tati clans in the Markami Tortoise race. Two conclusions follow. The first is that certain clans in the phratry, those with different totems, probably did not split off from the parent clan of the phratry, but were independent clans grouped into the phratry at a later stage, probably owing to contiguity. The second thing is that the association of the totemic animal or plant with phratries and clans is so far from universal and plays so small a part in the life of the whole tribe that it is either something new, borrowed from another culture, but not really assimilated, or else a relic of something that has decayed with antiquity. It is remarkable that the Biryia or Big Markami clan should not have any scruples about the tortoise, the totem of the Markami or Tortoise phratry, while the Chudala or Small Markami clan is very particular about it. Yet it is only of the tortoise totem that there is any legend; there is said long ago to have been a great flood, which the brothers Markam and Kawasi were unable to cross until a tortoise came and took them on its back.¹ Some, however, do go out of their way to avoid touching or harming their totem, particularly the Kawasi Tortoise phratry; blindness is the punishment which eating the totem is said to involve. I was told by a Kawasi

[773]
[784]
¹ This legend of the origin of the tortoise totem is one of the very few traces (the only trace that I have met) among Bastar Marias of the Ramcharan legend of the origin of the Gonds. In the version of this given in Trench's *Gondi Grammar*, Vol. II, all the ancestors of the Gonds were stopped on their way to worship the Great God by a great flood, "whereupon in haste they plunged into the river, and one caught hold of a Teak log, another a *Sirraa*, another a palm tree, another a teak tree, another an *iguana*, another a tiger, thus each seizing something or other, they forded the river. Having crossed the river, they assembled near a *Saj* tree, and ate the new rice that ripens in hollows, and drank, and asked each other, "What did you catch hold of when you crossed?" They said, "I for my part seized a palm tree and forded on it, I a teak tree, and I a tiger." *Addi-rawan-pari* says, "Then your *pari* will be the Palm tree, yours the Teak, and yours the Tiger." Thus *paris* were found for all of them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

615
618
[50] I was told by a Kawasi informant that a bride coming from a clan with a different totem to a Kawasi household was made to eat her father's totem as a sign of abandoning that totem's race or clan; but I could never verify this. There is a definite ceremony for transferring a re-marrying widow from her first to her second husband's clan; but this has nothing to do with the totem.

There is nothing to prevent a man in the Markami Tortoise phratry taking a wife from the Kawasi Tortoise phratry. In fact, if totems were of real significance, it is hard to see why there should be these two mutually exogamous Tortoise phratries. Nor is there anything to bar them intermarrying with the Hemla Tortoise clan in the Goat phratry; the same applies to the Goat and Buffalo phratries and the Goat and Buffalo clans in other phratries.

Another point that suggests that the phratry has arisen as a convenience for enlarging the matrimonial field is that each village is regarded as the *blame* (earth or soil) of the individual Bison-horn clan that first settled it, not of the phratry. To give a few examples, Massenar is the *blame* of the Atrami clan, Lendra and Singwaram of the Barso clan, Mandimarka of the Dodi clan, Durandarbha and Gumadasaka of the Hemla clan, Dugheli and Pharaspal of the Kalmbu clan, Biryia Gudra, Etipal and Bhurasar of the Kartami clan, Berma and Karrigodem of the Kunjami clan, Kondasaoli, Komarguda, Kodmair, Ursangal, Tetam and Koriras of the Biryia Marvi, Chudala Gudra, Tariaguda and Banjepalli of the Chudala Marvi, Palnar, Phulpan and Singaram of the Vetti. Each clan thus has villages that are far apart; there is no contiguity of all the villages that are the *blame* of one clan, and therefore no compact clan-area as in the Abujhmar hills. Nor is there any phratry area; five contiguous villages may easily be the *blame* of five clans each belonging to a different phratry. Even in the villages that are the *blame* of one clan it is quite possible that the *perma* may be the only member of the clan in the village, and in every village there are settlements of all the clans with which the founder clan has intermarried, each clan that is big enough being allotted a separate quarter in the village for its houses, and clans of which there are only one or two representatives perhaps sharing a quarter with other clans of their phratry. Only a *perma* of the founder clan can mediate between the villagers and the Earth and Village Mother; and if that clan has retained its own clan-god, little heed is paid to the clan-god of the phratry or the parent-clan of the phratry. At the sacrifices to the Departed and the subsequent sacrificial meal at first-fruits ceremonies only the householder's *blame* or fellow-clansmen may be present, not members of other clans in his phratry even. The division of the large Marvi, Markami and Sodi clans into

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

Bison Horn Maria

PHRATRIES AND CLANS

243

big and small clans of the same name is an old one, and, as the examples above show, the big and small clans have different villages as their *dhaw*; the reality of their separation is further shown by such differences of custom as the Big Marvi clan making flat table-stones or *dawya-hal* for their dead instead of the usual menhirs or *washal* which the Small Marvi and all other clans except the Kuhrami erect for their dead, and as the different outlook of the Big and Small Marvami to the tortoise totem of the Marvami phratry.

615

618

Traditional
origins of
clan names

The chapter may be closed with examples of the traditional origins of certain Hill and Bison-horn Maria clan names, into which nothing totemic appears to intrude.

618

- Gumdar* When their first village was founded the sky had become *gums* or overcast with clouds.
- Gecks* The founder of the clan was a laggard or stay-behind (*gecks*).
- Dohaw* Though Hill Marias, they make *del* drums like the Bison-horn Marias.
- Dharus* They walked in front of the clan-god like *dharus* preceding the Raja of Bastar in a procession.
- Akhal* 'Leafy': the founder was a great tree-climber.
- Kallami* The 'borrow-pit' clan, diggers of borrow-pits for tank embankments.
- Karms* The 'sunset' clan, because the founder was born at sunset (an alternative name for the Jughalor).
- Kuhrami* The 'people of the mist' (*kuhra*), because on cold weather mornings they walk ahead of others to disperse the mist and heavy dew.

The examples are similar to those given by Russell and Hirala (III, pp. 68-70) for the Gond clans of Betul District.

CHAPTER XIV

MARRIAGE

582
618
● **Exogamy** **WHATEVER** the origin of the clans and phratries, they serve as a means of regulating the marriages of Hill and Bison-horn Marias; in the case of the latter, among whom the clan is no longer a territorial as well as a social unit, one might say that the primary function of the clan and phratry organization is the regulation of marriage. A child is born into the clan of its father, and, if a son, must remain in that clan all its life; but, if a daughter, passes on marriage to the clan of the husband, and on re-marriage from his clan to that of the second husband. A son must not take a wife, or a daughter a husband, from the father's clan or from any clan that is brother-clan or *dadabhai* to it: he must marry a wife from, and she must marry into, some clan that is a wife-clan or *akomama* of their father's clan. It has been seen that the phratry system of the Bison-horn Marias gives them a wider field of selection of wives and husbands than the more inchoate group system of Hill Maria clans. A widow, however, must not marry as second husband a man whose clan is brother to her father's clan, even though through being in a phratry other than that of her first husband's clan the second husband's clan would be wife-clan to the first husband's. In a word, throughout a woman's life all her marriages are regulated by the clan into which she was born.

601
114
Appendix III gives a list of the Hill Maria terms of relationship so far as I could ascertain them; they were collected in Orcha and adjacent villages by the genealogical method, and verified in other parts of the Abujhmar hills. They were collected as terms of reference, though some are used also as terms of address, e.g. *mama*, *dada*, *kaka*. I was unable in the time at my disposal to make a similar collection of the Bison-horn Maria terms; but so far as my observation went their terms are the same but for dialectical differences. This applies also, it may be added, in a considerable degree to the terms used by the Gonds of the Nagpur District, and, to judge from the incomplete list given in Trench's *Grammar*, Volume I, to those of the Betul Gonds. It may be added that when a son has been born to him, a Hill or Bison-horn Maria is often addressed by his family and neighbours as the father of his son, e.g. 'Rajin-tappe', meaning 'Father of Raje'.

601
[551] *Dadabhai*, the word used to designate kindred or brother-clans, is a combination of *dada*, the Gondi term for an elder brother, and

MARRIAGE

261

ceremony; I found no case in which any widow had married a man who was not her dead husband's brother (or parallel-cousin). Indeed, owing to the distances between Hill Maria villages and the fact that in nearly all of them the men are all of one clan, irregular marriages are far less common there than in the mixed-clan villages of the Bison-horn Marias. Among the latter the second husband has sometimes to compensate the dead husband's parents in part for the bride-price paid by them when their son married the widow, as well as compensating their younger son, if any. Sometimes the widow and second husband sit side by side on stools, the widow wearing a new cloth and new ornaments, and near relatives put marks on their foreheads with oil and turmeric. There is also sometimes a ceremony to transfer the widow from the clan of her former to that of her new husband; two pieces of grass are placed together in the form of a cross to represent a man, and this cross is separated from another by a knife. Two leaf-cups are filled with water, and three times water is poured from one into the other. The two grass crosses representing the two husbands are sprinkled thrice with the water, and then the heads of the crosses are plunged together first into one cup and then into the other. The knife is regarded as the witness of this transfer of the woman from one clan to the other. When a woman elopes from one husband to another, there is sometimes a similar reconciliation ceremony between the two men after the new husband has obeyed the *pachayat's* decision as to the compensation to be paid to the first husband; their four hands are placed together, and water is poured thrice over them.

It has been seen that women not only have practically free choice among the Hill Marias and considerable choice among the Bison-horn Marias as to their husbands, and that among the latter a woman frequently goes off to a new husband if she wants to. This is practically all that there is in the way of divorce, the position being regularized by the *pachayat* insisting on the new husband paying the appropriate compensation, which is generally only the bride-price paid for the woman at her original marriage. The children, if any, remain in the father's custody, since they belong to his clan. Women often desert their first husband if they have no children and consider his sterility the cause. Physical revulsion from an abnormality is another known cause; a Kuruk Maria fishing girl in the Behra Mar hill *pargana* ran away from a husband with a withered leg, which she said had been wasted away by an angry demon (*raw*), and despite her father's and brother's entreaties to her not to put them to the expense of having to refund to her husband the heavy bride-price of Rs. 70 that he had paid them for her, absolutely refused to return. Hare-lipped men seem to have

587

[6187]

587

586

586

586

732

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

APPENDIX II

LISTS OF HILL MARIA CLANS AND BISON-HORN MARIA CLANS AND PHRATRIES, AND PEDIGREE OF THE HILL MARIA FAMILY HOLDING THE HEREDITARY HEADMANSHIP OF CHHOTA DONGAR PARGANA AND ORCHA VILLAGE

[(d) Signifies that the village was deserted in 1934]

HILL MARIA CLANS

Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Usendi	Chhota Dongar	Orcha Jaggunda Hoinar (d) Juwada Dugarli Bagom Thadur Machan Duseli Kejang (d) Uragunda (d) Michwada One or two villages	Wikir Hanga (kept at Jaggunda, but brought to Orcha for festivals) None ?	Goat
	Kutru Mar Kharangal (not Hill Maria but Gotal Muria) Chanda District	? ?	?	
Wadder	Chhota Dongar	Dhanora Jori Hikpalla Kodali Perilmeta Rengabera (d) Karselhur	Worship the Usendi god Wikir Hanga of Jaggunda Use Dokra of Karselhur Kawo-Gundo of Kaunde	None
	Bhomra (Muria) Chanda District, and Kutru S. of Indrawati	Kaunde and others, and Madhepar and a few more in Kutru		
Karami	Chhota Dongar	Hirangal Verma	Worship the Usendi god of Jaggunda	None

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

APPENDIXES

301

Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Dodi	Do.	Jhara Rajpur Idnar	Do.	None
Deda	Chhota Dongar	Kurmer Dedalur.	Nule Harma or Eram Mo'itto of Kurmer	None
Parwal	Do.	Chalcheghi	Do.	None
Katlam	Do.	Jhori Hikpalla (shared with Wad- der)	Pandu Hunga elder brother of Wikir Hunga, the Usendi god	None
Jugho, alias Karme (plural, Jughalor)	Chhota Dongar Bhairamgarh Mar	Adeq Karammeta (d) Akmeta (d) Maspur (d) Nelamar Makawada Gomagal Hamar Rainar Gapa (d) Itulnar	Worships the Usendi god Wikir Hunga of Japgunda Say would worship Wikir Hunga if still in Chhota Dongar Pargana, but no need as now in Kutru samindari	None ; the name Karme said to mean 'sunset', the ancestor of clan having been born then
Dharwa (almost a branch of Jughalor)	Chhota Dongar	Share Goma- gal and Hamar with Jughalor	Worship the Usendi god Wikir Hunga of Japgunda but have also his sister Oghal Muttai as their own god	None ; clan says it is elder brother of Jughalor

618
632
621
776

Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Dol ('younger brothers' of Jaghalor)	Do.	Kohkapaghai	Worship Usendi god Wikir Hunga	Called Dol because members started making dol drums
Matami	Do.	Teknar	Do.	None
Dugher	Do.	Maramnar	Do.	None
Potawi	Do.	Almost extinct; one house in Orcha	Do.	None
Poyami	Do.	Kundali (one house)	Do.	None
Gecha	Do. Mangnar	Udala Tondawada Wetekal (d)	Do.	None. Name means 'a'aggard' clan
Neghal	Chhota Dongar	Bhara Tondawada	Do.	Panther
Ahkal	Do.	Gadadi	Do.	None
Ete ¹	Do.	Kondakoti	Nuls Harma of Kurmer	? Crab
Boka	Do.	Dondrewada Bokalur		None
Kohla	Chhota Dongar	Mandali Kushnar Batwada Kostari Gumter Hoinger Devanar Kerinar Irpener	Mu'ima Kohla Pen of Batwada	?
Padāl	Padalibhum	All the parganas	Gumtuli Muttai, of Adnar	None
Kumoti	Chhota Dongar	Almost extinct; 2 houses in Hasgar, 1 in Kainar	None	None
Jāti	Jātvara	Most of the parganas	?	?

¹ Ete is probably the same as Yete, a Kutru Mar clan.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

APPENDIXES

303

618 •
632
621
776

Cla	Pargana	Villages	Cla-god	Totem
Boter	Kutru Mar	Boter	None	None
Wachami	Kutru Mar and Ahiri (mostly Indrawati valley)	Kumharmeta Markanar Irkopal Karkalli Bodeli and some Ahiri villages	Wachami Moitto Pen of Kumharmeta	?
Mohanda	Kutru Mar	Lakka Hingmeta Bhuri Puslakka	A god at Lakka	?
Oyami	Bhairamgarh Mar	Komu Kalhara Malabanar (d)	None	None
Mokhe	Do. Chhota Dongar	2 houses in Kalhara Albara (d)	None	None
Yete	Bhairamgarh Mar	Hoinar	None	Crab
Pungati	Do.	2 houses in Ader (Kutru)	None	?
Bardal	Bardal Tapalibhum	Whole pargana Ranimarka	Herra Mu'ya of Kornar	None
Farsil	Farsil	Whole pargana (13 inhabited villages)	Kodo Mo'itto of Dharwada	None
	Bhairamgarh	Bheriabhum	None	
Gadil	Hakkagotal	Whole pargana (9 inhabited villages)	Pahanleya Muttari of Toimar in Tulagotal	None
	Tulagotal	Whole pargana (9 inhabited villages)	Do.	None
	Farsigotal	Whole pargana (5 inhabited villages)	Top Madya of Mohandi, said to be younger brother of Pahanley's husband	None

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

304

APPENDIXES

618
621
632
776

Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	Totem
Tapā	Tapālibhūm (Chhote Mar)	Nearly all the villages of the pargana	Rikaa Pen of Dodrimarka in Tapālibhūm	None
Nughoti, alias Neroti	Nurbhūm jātwara Tapālibhūm	All pargana but Turko Kohkameta Markawada Hachekote	?	None
Hichami	Nurbhūm	Turko	The Nughoti god	?
Parilo	Kutra Mar	Dodmarka Karangul Nugur Ader (Kutra) Padmeta	Koruk Pen of Karangal and Nugur	Goat
Jāti	Kutra Mar Chhote Dongar	Jātalur Akdam (J)	None	?
Kohka	Bhairamgarh Mar	Kakowada, or Kakawoki	None	Kohka-marra the marking-nut tree
Ark	Do.	Korowaya; sold Italner to Jughalor	None	None
Jāte (plural, Jātarom)	Mangnar	Mornar	Pat Raja	The jāte grass used for making brooms to sweep the god's shrine
Tokalor	Mangnar	Erpanar	Do.	The joks or flap of loin-cloth left to hang behind like a tail
Hukur	Mangnar	Erpanar	Do.	The kāk or basketry ladle used to stir rice cooked at the god's shrine

APPENDICES

305

Clan	Pargana	Villages	Clan-god	System
Marvi	Mangnar	Tökhtöl Kuver Modangwada Moghori	Mīrā-māgh, Pat Raja's sister's son or <i>bārwajal</i> . They get leave from Pat Raja to hold his nephew's festivals	?
Tamo	Dantewara Mar	Tumirgunda Padmeta	Hurra Gunda Moitto of Tumir- gunda	None
Atami ²	Barur	Chhota Karka Palawaya	Do.	?
Lekami ²	Barur	Batawada Ghotpal	Use Modia of Ghotpal	?

There were one or two Lekami houses in the Hill Maria villages of Handawada and Dunga.

Genie	Dantewara or Barur Mar	Toinar Handawada Hikol Thakawada Paralnar Prinkapal Kodokai Hitawada Kenjewada Goti Dunga Pariakot	Verma Mo'itto Pen of Toinar. The waddai is jāti by clan	None
	Ehairangarh		None	
Alami	Mangnar	Nendar Galia	Attend fes- tivals of Pat Raja, god of jāt- erom at Mornar	Chameleom (alām)
Nonde	Mangnar	Rotad	Do.	Rope

² Now, in culture, Bison-born clans; but the Lekami intermarries with the Genie clan, and the Atami still worships the Hill Maria pen of the Tamo clan.

618
621
632
776

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

Bison Horn Maria

306

APPENDIXES

BISON-HORN MARIA PHRATRIES AND CLANS

Phratry	Totem	Clans	Totem
1. Mārvi	Goat (Dantewara Jagdalpur) Cobra (Sukma and Konta)	Bāse Biryā Mārvi Chudalā Mārvi Dōdī Hēmlā Kuppē Oyāmi Pēdāmi Tamo	Tortoise
2. Kūhrāmi or Kadiāri	Cuckoo (kadiāri)	Budādi Gaddi Kartāmi Kūhrāmi (or Karāmi) Kunjāmi Lākāmi Porāmi Rawa Veko Wetti	Hornbill (karof) Do. Screech-owl (kunjā-pitla) Buffalo
3. Sōdi or Ōdi	Tiger	Biryā Sōdi Chudalā Sōdi Oikā	Buffalo Do.
4. Markāmi	Tortoise	Atāmi (or Atrāmi) Bālē Bōtē Bhōyāmi Biryā Markāmi Chudalā Markāmi Dudhi Dumie Durro Gonche Kalmu Karte (or Kandte) Kikder Miriāmi Neādi Nupo Poyāmi Tāti (or Tāmti) Telāmi Tikder Undāmi	Atra, the flower of the phul-behari grass Goat Buffalo

The tiger was the original totem, and the clan is still spoken of as the tiger-race; but the tigers have broken the legendary rule that no tiger will attack a Sōdi, and the Sōdis retaliate by joining the tiger-tribe and adopting the buffalo as their totem instead of the tiger.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949

AW32 Gond AW32

Hill Maria

Bison Horn Maria

APPENDIXES

307

615
618

Phratry	Totem	Clans	Totem
5. Kawāsi-or Wanjāmi	Tortoise	Bertā Dirdōd Kawāsi Muchāki Murāmi Padāmi Urve Wanjāmi	

The following six clan names have not been attributed to their phratries :
Gonde, Kiske, Koraa, Punem, Rega, Savalam.

54
656

Such iron knives or spurs as were tied on to the cock's legs were very small, and a Lahiri Maria criticized the usual theory that this way of increasing a cock's natural ornament is cruel on the ground that if it meant a quicker death for the defeated cock it was merciful. All the headmen promised that if the ban on cock-fights were lifted they would frown on cash or grain betting, and, if we so desired, on the use of iron spurs and knives. Thoughtless officiousness such as that which stopped this favourite tribal pastime is only too typical of the lack of imagination with which officials, great and small, are apt to interfere with all that lends colour to aboriginal life.

615
618
114

Lahiri was one of the chief camps where I questioned the local Marias as to their clan organization, particularly the grouping of clans into phratries according to the number of *Chuddur penk* or Little Gods. I mentioned on pages 194-5 my doubts as to the traditional accounts of this god-grouping among the Chanda Marias. But these accounts go back to Lucie-Smith's 1869 Chanda Settlement Report. A somewhat confusing summary of his account, on page 101 of the *Gazetteer*, seems to imply that there is little difference between the god-grouping of the Raj-Gond, the other Gond tribes of Chanda. Lucie-Smith divided the Raj-Gonds into a four-god group, with the tortoise and crocodile totems, a five-god group with the iguana totem, a six-god group with the tiger totem, and a seven-god group with the porcupine totem: these groups were divided into what the *Gazetteer* calls 'houses or families; distinguished by their family name or *padi*', i.e. into what in this book have been called clans (*pasi*), which numbered 28 among the Raj-Gonds, 24 among the Marias and 17 among the Dhurve Gond. Russell and Hiralal (Vol. III, p. 66) say that in Chanda:—

'There are four main groups worshipping seven, six, five and four gods respectively, and each group contains ten to fifteen septs. A man cannot marry a woman of any sept which worships the same number of gods as himself. Each group has a sacred animal which the members revere, that of the seven-god worshippers being a porcupine, of the six-god worshippers, a tiger, of the five-god worshippers, the *saras* crane, and of the four-god worshippers, a tortoise. As a rule the members of the different groups do not know the names of their gods; and in practice it is doubtful whether they restrict themselves to the proper number of gods of their own group. Formerly there were three-, two-, and one-god worshippers, but in each of these classes it is said that there were only one or two septs, and they found that they were much inconvenienced by the paucity of their numbers, perhaps for the purposes of communal worship and feasting, and hence they got themselves enrolled in the larger groups. In reality it would appear that the classification according to the number of gods worshipped is being forgotten and the three lowest groups have disappeared.'

They suggested that this conjecture was supported by the fact that in Chhindwara and other localities only two large six-god and seven-god groups remained.

SUPPLEMENT

393

The accounts over-simplify scattered data collected without concentrated field-enquiry. Even the *Gazetteer*, in a footnote to the passage quoted above from page 101, speaks of a group of three-god Marias having lately been verified in Lahiri. Shoober¹ quotes the late Bishop Wood as having verified the existence of a group of three-god Marias in the Chanda villages of Lahiri and Beni-Gunda near the Bastar border of Chanda district, and enquiries which the Bishop had made for me in 1929 by the Rev. S. G. Patwardhan, the well-known Indian missionary priest of the Scottish Episcopal Church Mission at Ahiri, went further, as indicated on page 195, and established definitely that the Chanda Marias of Bidri, Yemla, Burgi,² Uddera and Kandodi had one three-god clan, six four-god, eight five-god, eight six-god and eight seven-god clans (31 clans against Lucie-Smith's 24). Russell and Hiralal are wrong even of Chhindwara district, where I verified some three-god clans (as in Nagpur district) and even a one-god and a no-god clan. Baron C. von Fürer-Haimendorf's forthcoming book on the Raj-Gonds of the Adilabad plateaux of Hyderabad will deal exhaustively with the god-grouping³ of the Adilabad Gonds, whose social system is based on a system of four phratries (saga), the seven-god, six-god, five-god and four-god phratries. His conclusions there have been to some extent foreshadowed in his interesting article 'The Cult of the Clan Gods among the Raj-Gonds of Hyderabad', published in *Man in India*, Vol. XXV, 1945, pages 149-86. His field-work has been far more detailed and closer than any previous work among Raj-Gonds, and the whole body of myths which he has recorded as to these phratries or god-groups throws altogether new light on the origins and facts of Gond social organization. It badly needs to be supplemented rapidly by similar enquiries among all the sections of the Gonds not only in Chanda district, but also in all the Central Provinces and Berar districts and States where this god-grouping still persists. One is apt to assume that it is dying out or deteriorating rapidly in areas formerly known as British India, in contrast to areas such as Adilabad, which has never been under British rule, and has been till recently free from the detribalizing, hinduizing work of the schoolmaster, or as most of the Chanda Maria country. But the difference may be rather that the Gond of the more

¹ Central Provinces and Berar Census Report, 1931, p. 334.

² I checked this at Burgi (*Ordnance Survey of India*, Sheet 65A, ref. MV3842) and discussed the whole question with Rev. Patwardhan at Ahiri: the 31 clans may be far from exhaustive.

³ Haimendorf prefers to speak of 'seven-brother', 'six-brother' phratries, holding that his Raj-Gonds speak of a classification by the number not so much of *gods* (gods) as of *Wend*, an almost untranslatable term meaning 'heroes', or 'divine ancestors'.

615
618
114

SUPPLEMENT

394

615 advanced' areas further north, faced by Brahman ridicule of his
 618 culture, has more and more withdrawn into his shell and learnt to
 114 conceal the more intimate features of his tribal religion and culture.

174 Until we have before us the records of such systematized and
 611 widespread field-work it is impossible to form any reliable general
 618 theory of the origin of this god-grouping. My tentative view, so

611 far as the Chanda Marias are concerned, for what it is worth, is
 618 that the god-grouping is a comparatively recent importation from
 their northern and western Gond (especially Raj-Gond) neighbours.

As I have pointed out on pages 194-5, the Bastar Marias and
 Murias have neither god-grouping nor *chuddur penk*. I added that
 none of the Chanda Marias who had come to my camps in Bastar
 had these institutions. This may appear inconsistent with the
 definite proof of the existence at least of god-grouping among the
 Chanda Marias, as recorded from Lucie-Smith's time onwards, and
 verified by Bishop Wood and Rev. Patwardhan and in this tour of
 mine. But here again one must distinguish between the Chanda
 Marias of the hills above Lahiri and those of the plains and foothills.
 Those who came to my Bastar camps were all Chanda Hill Marias:
 those among whom god-grouping was verified were plains Marias. I
 camped for four days at Kuvakodi, a hill village high above Lahiri,
 and visited other hill villages close by both in Chanda and in
 Bastar. The Chanda Hill Marias are identical in culture with the
 Bastar Hill Marias, and like them had, at least at Christmas
 1940, no god-grouping and no *chuddur penk*. The Hill Marias of
 Chanda in fact appear to be what the *Gazetteer*¹ describes as the
 Gaita sub-tribe of Gonds, and the speakers of the dialect referred to
 by it² and in the *Linguistic Survey* as Gattu, the language of the
 'Kois or Gonds of the hills, especially in Sironcha', who 'are
 known as Gattu or Gotte Kois'; for it speaks of the Gaita Gonds as
 being 'almost alone in retaining the old Gondic custom, once universal,
 of building their village in two long barracks lying east and west
 facing each other about eighty feet apart' in which the married
 people dwell, while the bachelors, and in some villages unmarried
 girls also, have separate barracks. This description clearly fits
 the Hill Marias of Kuvakodi and adjacent hill villages, as it would do
 the villages of the neighbouring Hill Maria *paragonas* of Bastar.

So we start with these, the most primitive of the Marias of
 Chanda, and find among them no trace of god-grouping or *chuddur
 penk*. Down the hill we come to Lahiri, and we find god-grouping
 (which, however, includes a three-god group absent among the Chanda
 and Adilabad Raj-Gonds), but, so far as I could ascertain, no *chuddur*

¹ Chanda District Gazetteer (Allahabad, 1900), pp. 97, 98.

² *Ibidem*, p. 73.

SUPPLEMENT

395

peak corresponding in number to the number of gods of the god-group, and apparently no domestic cult except of the Departed. As you go northwards beyond Surjagarh or north-westwards towards Chand the Marias begin to understand the meaning of god-grouping and of *chaddar peak*, but even there seemed to me—admittedly my enquiries were superficial—to have no such vital interest in these things as a typical Raj-Gond or Dhurve Gond. This would be explicable on a theory that this god-grouping was something gradually imposed, not necessarily deliberately, but by infiltration and imitation, by the Gonds of the ruling house of Chanda and the aristocratic Gond samindars, under the feudal system grouped about the Chanda Maharaja, upon the whole 'Maria' substratum of the Gonds of Chanda. The Marias probably represent one or two early waves of Gond migration southwards or, at least the Hill Marias, an earlier pre-Gond race with Veddids, Malid or Munda affinities.¹ There are differences between Chanda Hill Maria and plains Maria speech, the former being as guttural as Bastar Hill Maria; but all Chand Marias speak a form of Gondi very different from the Gondi of the Raj and Dhurve Gonds of Chanda, which would support the view that the latter represent different waves of migration, later moreover in view of their very advanced social and political organization and their aristocratic elements: compare also the position of the Pardhan bards and musicians in Raj-Gond life with their rarity in Maria villages. It is probable also that the ancestors of many who now are called Raj-Gonds a few generations back were Maria. The *Gazetteer*² mentions that though Marias do not now (1909) intermarry with Raj-Gonds, the records of the Ahiri family show that they once did so. The very term Raj-Gond in my view, as expressed on page 36, arose from the process still common whereby as sections of aboriginal tribes became Hinduized or acquired political power they distinguish themselves from the main body of their original tribe, so as to fit into the caste system. There can be little doubt that as the Raj-Gond kingdom of Chanda grew in power leading local Gond or Maria headmen or elders who fitted into the social organization of the kingdom came to be regarded as Raj-Gond: compare also the discussion earlier in this Note³ of the meaning of the term 'Maria' and its disappearance in Drug district terminology in very recent times.⁴ What, therefore, could be more

174
615
618 •

[17]

¹ Compare, for example, the Kolams of Hyderabad and Berar, or the Hill Reddis of Hyderabad, Madras and Orissa. The late Bishop Wood on hearing Bastar Marias talk said that to him it sounded like Gondi spoken with Munderi accent and intonation. See also R. C. Roy on pp. 317-18.

² *Chanda District Gazetteer* (Allahabad, 1909) p. 107.

³ P. 377.

⁴ P. 374.

174 natural than for the backward Marias aspiring to raise themselves
615 to Raj-Gond status to copy gradually the Raj-Gond social organiza-
618 tion? It is equally possible that *pari passu* the Raj-Gond ruler
and nobles encouraged this: in all these semi-feudal, semi-tribal
states and sub-states, as to this day in the States and zamindaris of
Chhattisgarh and Orissa, the Maharajah of the State or the Rajah
of the zamindari remains the final arbiter in caste matters, even often
conferring the right to wear the sacred thread on communities
actively hinduizing themselves. At Surjagarh and Jarawandi
camps, various *Sandhias* and headmen practically admitted to me
that god-grouping was not originally a Maria institution.¹

264 From Lahiri there was a long climb of thirteen miles to the Hill
Maria village of Kuvakodi, when we halted for four days, including
Christmas Day. The track led at first up the valley of the Lahiri
river, then up the side valley of a small tributary, and so by an
exceptionally steep ascent on to an undulating plateau, across which
we reached Kuvakodi at dusk, our camp equipment all being carried
on poles by Marias, whom on arrival we rewarded not only in cash
but, in Bastar fashion, with salt and beads, and a feast of pork:
the Marias sat ranged by clan and village, and those who killed and
cooked the pork distributed to every man and child, and to the
women of Kuvakodi, a portion of the meat off each joint of the pig.
On the way up a slight detour took us through the small village of
Gudumundi, and from Kuvakodi we visited Podewara and the
Bastar village of Nelangari, some five miles from our camp.

751 Each day started with a parade of yaws patients for inoculation,
all from Chanda villages: the Bastar Marias, who came in to see me
and to join in the dancing each evening, looked tolerantly on,
having themselves long before had the benefit of the Bastar anti-
yaws parties.

241 The whole cultivation system of the Chanda Hill Marias is
identical with the Bastar system described in Chapter VII of this
book: it is, that is to say, *penda* cultivation and not what is generally
known in the Central Provinces as *dahi*, or its Chanda plains varia-
tions of *khamari*, *jalapod*, *podu* or *sampod* (these terms will be explained
later in this Note). There is the same broadcast sowing on the same
kind of clearings of seed of all the minor millets and beans. The

¹ Haimendorf in reviewing Shamrao Hivale's *The Pardhans of the Upper Nerbada Valley* has pointed out that the fact that the Pardhans' clan organiza-
tion is everywhere based on that of the local Gond, does not disprove the
different origin of the two peoples, for there are many examples of other tribes
adopting their Gond neighbours' system of phratries and clans. He instances
from Chanda district and Hyderabad State not only the aboriginal castes as
certain Maratha blacksmiths and brass-workers who have the same clan names
as the Gonds, *Man in India*, Vol. XXVI, 1946, p. 231. Compare also the
Kuruk fishing tribe in Bastar, pp. 163-4.